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ABSTRACT

Hispanic Americans are diverse, but researchers are often limited by available data that do not highlight their diversity. This report presents information about the total Hispanic American population, along with data on the largest subgroups that make up that total. Good and bad news about Hispanics is presented using data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census to describe them in terms of origins, families, access to jobs and education, population diversity, immigration, geographical distributions, and other demographic characteristics. Also included are data on the states and cities in which Hispanics live and information about how the Hispanic population has changed demographically. The report concludes with a discussion of the major issues facing Hispanic Americans, including family changes, undereducation, employment, income disparity and poverty, migrant groups, the rise of the Hispanic middle class, and voting patterns. Appendixes present four tables of demographic profile information, and four figures charting supplementary data. (Contains 4 text tables, 3 text figures, and 32 references.) (SLD)

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HISPANIC AMERICANS:

A Look Back, A Look Ahead

HISPANIC AMERICANOS:

Una Mirada Hacia Atrás Una Mirada Hacia Adelante

by
Harold L. Hodgkinson
and
Janice Hamilton Outtz

with the assistance of
Anita Massey Obarakpor

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Harold L. Hodgkinson
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March 1996

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HISPANIC AMERICANS:

A Look Back, A Look Ahead

INTRODUCTION

The United States is now in the middle of the largest immigration of non-Europeans in our nation's history. While Asians comprise many of these new immigrants, the vast majority are from Mexico, the Caribbean and Central and South America. These new immigrants are called "Hispanics," "Latinos," "Hispanos," among many other labels. Representing more than twenty nations, Hispanic Americans are extremely difficult to lump together under one rubric -- including language. More than 10 percent of Hispanics in California do not speak Spanish. Any attempt to present all Hispanics as belonging to any one category is doomed to failure. Hispanic Americans are diverse, yet, researchers are often limited by available data that would highlight the diversity.

Many Hispanic Americans have done exceptionally well in the United States and have made significant contributions to our nation. Others have been hopelessly submerged in inescapable poverty.

The good news is that in terms of home ownership, job access, the ability to learn English and pursue higher education, Hispanic Americans are doing as well as European immigrants did years ago. A Mexican boy born in the United States today, for example, will take about as long to learn English as it took an Italian boy born in the United States in 1910. The sad news is that far too many Hispanic Americans are falling through the cracks.

Given the current size of the Hispanic population, plus the declines in the growth rates of Whites and African Americans, Asian and Hispanic immigration will, to a considerable

degree, define changes in the population of the United States from now to 2010 when the number of African Americans and Hispanics becomes about equal. By 2030, half of all of the youth (ages 0 to 18 years) in the United States will be nonwhite.

Information about the total Hispanic American population will be presented in this report as well as data on the largest subgroups that make the total Hispanic population so rich and complex. This Nation needs to celebrate the achievements of Hispanic Americans and remain concerned about the factors that have held some back.

This report will investigate the good and bad news expressed through the complexity of the wide variety of nationalities that comprise the Hispanic American population. Using data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census and other sources, the population now called "Hispanic" is described in terms of origins, families, access to jobs and education, population diversity, immigration, geography, and other demographic characteristics. This report also examines the complex issues surrounding the definition of "Hispanics" and includes detailed information on the largest Hispanic subgroups: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American, and "Other" Hispanics (see Appendix A).

Also included in the report are data on the states and cities in which most Hispanics live, population growth rates, and how the Hispanic population has changed demographically. The report concludes with a discussion of the major issues facing the Hispanic community including family changes, under-education, employment, income disparity and poverty, migrant groups (especially farm workers), the rise of the Hispanic middle class, and voting patterns.

PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN — WHO ARE THEY?

The U.S. Bureau of the Census, through the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Directive 15, lists four "racial" categories: American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Black and White, and one "ethnic" group -- Hispanic. (The 1990 census form did not use the term "African American.") On the 1990 census form, respondents were asked to select the one *racial* category "that the person considers himself/herself" and then answer the question "Is this person of Spanish/Hispanic origin?" (See Technical Note, next page.) The race and ethnicity concepts are not intended to reflect any biological or anthropological definition, but simply show how people identify themselves or are perceived by others. However, the results are often presented without proper cautions, leading general readers to assume that racial/ethnic categories have scientific validity.

The 1990 census form also contained a blank space for persons to select "other race" and fill in the race that best represents the individual. There is (so far) no way for people to say that they are multiracial. Persons completing the census form must identify with only one racial category; no mixing is acceptable on the form.

In 1990, one of 11 persons in the United States said they were of Hispanic origin. Persons of Hispanic origin identify with many different races -- White, Black (African American), American Indian, Asian or Pacific Islander, but, ethnically all are Hispanic. In 1990, however, the Census Bureau classified 91 percent of all "Hispanics" as White. (Cubans were most likely to identify themselves as "White" and

Mexican Americans were least likely.) Five percent of all persons who selected Hispanic origin as their ethnicity selected "Black" as their race; four percent selected "other" as their race.

Several suggestions for changing how race and ethnicity data are collected by federal agencies are under consideration by OMB. (A decision on the suggested changes for the 2000 census will not be made until mid-1997.) One key issue under consideration is related to the definition of Hispanics. There is considerable political pressure to redefine "Hispanic" in the 2000 census to include Hispanic as a racial designation (combining race and ethnicity into a single category). Doing so would still not denote any clear-cut scientific definition of biological stock and according to many critics would only further confuse the question of race and ethnicity.

TECHNICAL NOTE --*(The Census Bureau's Official Definition)*: Persons of Hispanic/ Spanish origin are those who classified themselves in one of the specific Hispanic origin categories listed on the census questionnaire -- Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or "Other" Hispanic/ Spanish origin. Persons of "Other" Hispanic/ Spanish origin are those whose origins are from Spain, the Spanish-speaking countries of Central or South America, or the Dominican Republic, or they are persons of Hispanic origin identifying themselves generally as Spanish, Spanish-American, Hispanic, Hispano, Latino, etc.

Origin can be viewed as the ancestry, nationality group, lineage or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. Hispanic/Spanish origin is not a racial category. Therefore, persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population and Housing*, 1992.

Since 1930, some segment of the Hispanic population has been counted in the census of the United States. In 1930, according to the Census Bureau, 1.3 million "Mexicans" were reported. In 1950, 2.3 million "persons of Spanish surname" were reported and in 1970, 9.1 million persons of "Spanish" origin were reported. The 1980 census was the first time the term "Hispanic" appeared on the census form. In 1990, the Census Bureau tabulated information for over 30 Hispanic origin subgroups (see Appendix Table A for a detailed listing of the subgroups and the 1990 population of each subgroup). "Hispanic" is also the identifier used in the Census Bureau's monthly Current Population Survey, the primary source of information on the population between census years and the source of much of the data included in this report.

Although the term "Hispanic" has been used frequently in census studies since 1980, it is not universally accepted. Individuals do not readily self-identify as "Hispanic" or "Latino" writes Rafael Valdivieso and Siobhan Nicolau (*Look Me in the Eye,* 1994). "The vast majority generally think of themselves in relation to the country from which their ancestors came." In a well-known television interview, reporter Bill Moyers asked Ernie Cortez, a MacArthur Foundation "genius" award winner and community organizer, what it was like being a Hispanic in the United States. Cortez replied that he did not know, as he had been a Mexican American all his life, but had only been a "Hispanic" for a few years! Because Hispanic as an ethnic category only exists in the United States, a Cuban would have to immigrate to the United States to become a "Hispanic." The term was coined by federal statisticians as a

catchall category to cover many national and regional groups for purposes of counting and classifying this segment of the U.S. population. Like the term "Asian," the term Hispanic may mask as much diversity as it reveals.

The term "Hispanic" is used far more often in the Eastern part of the United States. In California, the preferred term is often "Latino" or "Chicano." (Others prefer "La Raza" which often means people from Mexico and some from Central America.) Latinos feel that "Hispanic" emphasizes the Spanish root of their culture without paying enough attention to the great cultural traditions of Latin America. This is especially true of the "Mestizo" mix of Amerindian and Spanish White cultures or the "Mulatto" mix of African and Spanish White cultures. Supporters of the term "Hispanic" often feel that a broad category is needed that will simplify a confusing situation and will allow a maximum of interests and cultures to be under the same umbrella. Each of these labels is offensive to some members.

It is not likely that there will ever be a consensus about what name is more appropriate. The use of the term Hispanic in this report follows the lead of the Census Bureau, the primary source of data. Because of the limitations of demographic data from federal sources for Hispanic subgroups, data users are often locked into sources which aggregate all subgroups. When this is done, it may appear that Hispanics are believed to be a homogenous group. They are not. Hispanics are divided by geography, country of origin, race, class, group differences and the time and circumstances of their entry into the United States (*Look Me in the Eye,* 1994).

With all of the confusion of terminology, there are, however, some common aspects of Hispanic culture: Western hemisphere Hispanics are a cultural blend resulting from the expansion of the Spanish empire in the 15th and 16th centuries. Their diverse origins include New World civilizations from the Aztecs and Incas to the Apaches and Zapotecs, African slaves, Spanish explorers, governors, soldiers, servants and to the English and French who competed with the Spanish for a part of the New World. (*Handsome Dividends,* 1994.)

Some ancestors of Hispanics came to the American continent in the late 1400s. The Spanish were in Puerto Rico and the American Southwest long before the New England settlers arrived, while other Hispanics are more recent arrivals.

Some Hispanics are completely assimilated to U.S. culture while others (especially in New Mexico and southern Colorado) have been here a long time but retain most of their original culture. Spanish surnames are anglicized through time, are lost through marriage, or are confused with Portuguese (Brazil's language) and Italian surnames. Even the Catholic liturgy in Hispanic churches is different from that of Irish Catholic services or African American Catholic services in the United States.

While race has been frequently used as an organizing theme for African Americans, Hispanics have no such rallying point. Hispanics in the United States are somewhat united by a common Spanish language and a heritage that contains aspects of Indian, African and Spanish cultures and religious values. But the ability to speak Spanish is, after all, learned by thousands of high school and college students each year, most of whom have no connection to "Hispanic" culture and would never consider telling the census data collectors that they were Hispanic. *American Demographics* (June 1993)

suggests that 30 percent of the Hispanics in the United States do not speak Spanish as their primary language at home.

In 2010, the Census Bureau projects that there will be 40.4 million African Americans in the United States and 39.3 million Hispanics. Shortly thereafter, by 2015, Hispanics will outnumber African Americans (44.0 million and 43.1 million, respectively), making Hispanics the largest minority group in the United States. How this will affect political organizations, social programs and even attitudes will have to be seen.

PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN IN THE UNITED STATES

Hispanics are a very young and rapidly increasing population with a median age of 26.7 in 1993. Between 1980 and 1990, the Hispanic population grew over seven times as fast as the rest of the nation's population, increasing 53 percent. In 1980, Hispanics totaled 14.6 million and by 1990, the Hispanic population in the United States was 21.9 million. Between 1990 and 1993, the Hispanic population increased an additional 4 percent to 22.8 million (see Table 1, next page).

Several factors contributed to the increase in the Hispanic population. Among them are a higher birth rate compared to other U.S. population groups and substantial immigration over the past several decades. In 1993, the birth rate (the number of births per 1,000 women) for Hispanics was 26.0 compared to a rate of 20.8 for African Americans and 12.9 for non-Hispanic Whites. About one-third of the Hispanic population is foreign-born; about half came to the United States before 1980 and the other half after 1980.

By 2015, persons of Hispanic origin will outnumber African Americans (44.0 million and 43.1 million, respectively).

Persons from Mexico make up the majority of the Hispanic population in the United States. In 1993, 64 percent of all Hispanics (14.6 million) were from Mexico, followed by Central/South America (13 percent, 3.1 million), and Puerto Rico (11 percent, 2.4 million). Other Hispanics (7 percent, 1.6 million), and persons from Cuba (5 percent, 1.1 million) round out the total. The diversity within the Hispanic population is great and can be seen in terms of demographic characteristics such as growth rates, educational attainment, income and labor force status. (See Appendix Tables B and C for demographic profiles of the largest Hispanic subgroups and also the comparison charts in Appendix B.)

Mexican Americans, sometimes called Chicanos, Mexicanos, Latin Americans or Spanish, are probably the most difficult to categorize because of the size of the group and the diverse history of settlement and immigration. Each label denotes contextual factors such as language, setting, history and geography, according to Quality Education for Minorities (QEM, June 1990). Mexican Americans are the fastest-growing single Hispanic group, increasing 53 percent between 1980 and 1990. By 1992, Mexican Americans totaled 14.6 million. The U.S. Hispanics of Mexican ancestry includes the highest percentage of individuals who are native born and were raised in the United States, according to *Look Me in the Eye*, (1994). Mexican

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Table 1
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE --
PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN

(NOTE: Data are for 1993 unless otherwise indicated.)

POPULATION	Number	Percent/Rate
Total Population, 1993	22,752,000	100.0
Total Population, 1990	21,900,089	100.0
Change, 1990-1993	851,089	3.9
Projected Population, 2000/Percent change 1993-2000	31,166,000	37.0
Number/Percent of total population under age 5	2,525,472	11.1
Number/Percent of total population < age 18 (est.)	7,940,448	34.9
Number/Percent of total population age 65 and over	1,228,608	5.4
Median Age		26.7
Number/Percent of the population who are foreign born, 1990	7,841,650	35.8
Arrived 1980 to 1990/as a percent of total foreign born	3,974,980	50.7
Arrived before 1980/as a percent of total foreign born	3,866,670	49.3
Number/Percent of population who do not speak English "very well," 1990/as a percent of total population age 5 and over	7,716,795	39.4
ORIGIN (most populous groups)		
Mexican/as a percent of total Hispanic population	14,628,000	64.3
Puerto Rican/as a percent of total Hispanic population	2,402,000	10.6
Cuban/as a percent of total Hispanic population	1,071,000	4.7
Central and South American/as a percent of total Hispanic population	3,052,000	13.4
Other Hispanic origin/as a percent of total Hispanic population	1,598,000	7.0

NOTE: See Appendix Table B for comparison data for total United States.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1993; Population Projections for States, by Age, Sex Race and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2020;* and *1990 Census of Population: Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States,* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Americans are heavily concentrated in two states: California and Texas.

The second largest Hispanic subgroup, Puerto Ricans, increased 35 percent between 1980 and 1990, and totaled 2.4 million by 1993. One of the most difficult issues for Puerto Rican youth on the mainland, according to QEM (1990), is the classification of recently arrived youth into racial groups (primarily Black and White) and the stigmatization of those identified as Black. The largest concentration of Puerto Ricans is in the state of New York.

Cuban Americans are the third largest Hispanic subgroup. They increased 30 percent between 1980 and 1990. By 1993, the population of Cuban Americans was 1.1 million according to Census Bureau estimates. The history of Cuban migration into the United States is unique because most Cubans entered the United States as refugees, not immigrants, according to *Look Me in the Eye,* (1994). Cuban Americans are concentrated in four states: Florida, New Jersey, New York and California.

Until 1980, the Census Bureau lumped all Hispanics who were not identified as Mexican, Puerto Rican or Cuban into the single category "Other" Hispanics. The 1990 Census provided data for Central and South Americans and "Other" Hispanics separately as did the Census Bureau's 1993 Current Population Survey. In 1993, Central and South Americans made up 13 percent of all Hispanics in the United States (3.1 million). Included among the more than one million Central Americans are Salvadoreans (43 percent), Guatemalans (20 percent) and Nicaraquans (15 percent). Included among the more than one million South Americans are Colombians (37 percent), Eucadorians (19 percent) and Peruvians (17 percent). Persons from the Dominican Republic (over 500,000) were also included in the Central and South American subgroup.

Central and South Americans can be found in many areas of the country. For example, Dominicans are only two percent of the total 1990 Hispanic population, but are 15 percent of Hispanics in New York. The Colombian population is centered on the east coast, from New York to Florida. Central Americans tend to cluster in the southwest. Salvadoreans are just three percent of the total Hispanic population, but 25 percent of the Hispanic population in Washington, D.C.. Central and South Americans can be divided into at least three very distinct groups, according to the *Hispanic Almanac*, 1990: highly skilled Latin American Immigrants, refugee professional class and Central and South American economic refugees.

The "Other" Hispanic subgroup (which includes Hispanos in the Southwest, mixed Hispanics and the Spanish) increased 67 percent between 1980 and 1990. Because of the varied composition of this group, it is difficult to consider as a single entity. However, persons in this census category are more likely to be white-collar workers than any other Hispanic subgroup and reflect the highest educational attainment. The "Other" Hispanic subgroup is concentrated in four states: California, New York, Florida and Texas.

Overall, Mexican Americans have the youngest median age (24.6 years) while Cubans have the oldest (43.6 years). Compared to the largest Hispanic subgroups, Mexican Americans have the smallest adult population with college degrees, while Cubans have the largest. Only 47 percent of Puerto Rican

American children lived with both parents in 1993 compared to 71 percent of all Cuban children.

Where Do Hispanic Americans Live?

Although persons of Hispanic origin live in every state, they are heavily concentrated in 10 states. These 10 states (see Figure 1 below) contained almost 90 percent of the 22 million Hispanics in the United States in 1990; four states had over a million Hispanic residents.

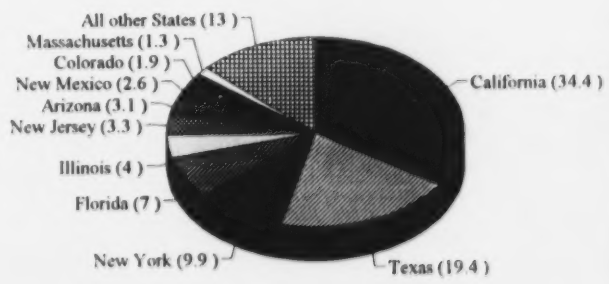
California was home to one of three Hispanics and Texas was home to nearly one of every five. Almost 40 percent of New Mexico residents were Hispanic, however they represented only 2.6 percent of all Hispanics, while California and Texas combined, contained 53.8 percent of all Hispanics.

Hispanics are also highly concentrated in certain cities (see Figure 2, next page). Four of the 10 cities with the largest Hispanic populations were in Texas and three of the cities were in California, but New York city had as many Hispanic residents as the three California cities put together (1.8 million).

Large numbers of Hispanic Americans lived in many of the larger metropolitan areas in 1990. However, the most important location for Hispanics may be the suburbs, according to W. Frey and William O'Hare (*American Demographics* magazine, April 1993). About 43 percent of the Hispanic population in 1990, or 8.7 million, lived in the suburbs. While Hispanics have not fared well overall compared to non-Hispanics in the United States, home ownership in the suburbs is a reality for increasing numbers of Hispanics, as it is for African Americans and Asian Americans. The top suburbs for Hispanics, however, are quite different from the top cities (see Table 2, next page).

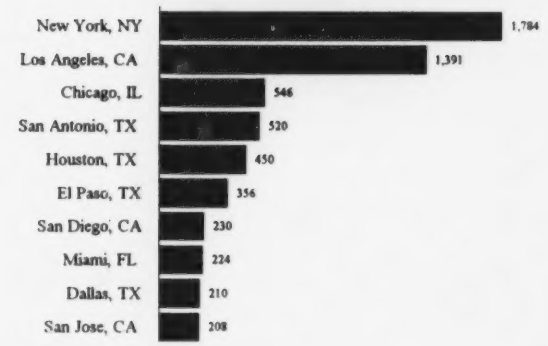
While five of the top 10 metro areas with the largest surburban Hispanic population are in California, only one California metro area (Riverside-San Bernardino) is included among the top ten in terms of the most rapidly growing areas for Hispanics. Two of these metro areas were in Texas (Dallas and Houston) and four were in Florida. Orlando led the Nation in Hispanic suburban population growth with an increase of 291 percent between 1980 and 1990, according to Frey and O'Hare

Figure 1
Top 10 States With Largest Hispanic Population, 1990
(percent of all Hispanics)



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990

Figure 2
Ten Cities With the Largest Hispanic Population, 1990
(in thousands)



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

(1993). The other significant growth areas in Florida were Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, Tampa and Miami.

Of the wealthiest Hispanic suburbs, the suburb outside Newark, NJ led with the highest per capita income, according to *American Demographics* magazine, (1993) followed by Washington, D.C., Bergen-Passaic, NJ, Oakland, CA, San Jose, CA, Ft. Lauderdale, FL, Miami, FL, New York, NY, Philadelphia, PA, and San Francisco, CA. These suburban areas include a heavy concentration of older, elite neighborhoods.

Table 2
Ten Metro Areas with the Largest Suburban Hispanic Population 1990

Metro Area	Hispanic residents in Suburbs
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	1,733,796
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	563,011
Miami-Hialeah, FL	521,449
Anaheim-Santa Ana, CA	289,690
San Diego, CA	255,882
Houston, TX	242,269
Oakland, CA	207,200
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	184,576
Chicago, IL	174,996
Washington, DC-MD-VA	168,140

Source: *American Demographics*, April 1993.

Income, Poverty and Home Ownership

Even with many workers per family, median family income for Hispanic Americans was below the median income for all families in the United States in 1992 ($25,064 and $36,811, respectively). The median family income for the largest Hispanic subgroups was also lower than the median for all families in the United States -- $23,714 for Mexican Americans, $20,301 for Puerto Rican Americans, $31,015 for Cuban Americans, $23,649 for Central and South Americans, and $28,562 for "Other" Hispanics.

Hispanic Americans were more likely to be living below the poverty level than were non-Hispanic Whites. In 1992, about 29 percent of all Hispanic Americans were poor compared to 9.6 percent of non-Hispanic Whites.

There are also some striking differences in terms of poverty among the Hispanic subgroups. While 30 percent of all Mexican Americans lived in poverty in 1993, 49 percent of their children did. For Puerto Ricans, the poverty rate was 36 percent for all Puerto Rican Americans and 53 percent for Puerto Rican children. Puerto Rican Americans and Mexican Americans had the highest poverty rates among the Hispanic subgroups and are the poorest of all Americans.

The subgroups with the lowest poverty rates were Central and South Americans and "Other" Hispanics. The percentage of all Central and South Americans living below the poverty level in 1993 was 26 percent and 38 percent for Central and South American children. The poverty rate for all "Other" Hispanics was 23 percent and 38 percent for their children. By comparison, the poverty rate for all persons in the United States in 1993 was 14.5 percent and 21.9 percent for all children. Hispanic children represented 11.7 percent of all children in the United States, but represented 21.3 percent of all children in poverty, according to data from the Census Bureau.

Proportionately, while 64.5 percent of all Americans own their own homes, the figures for Hispanics are lower, 44.2 percent for Mexicans, 23.4 percent for Puerto Ricans, 53 percent for Cubans, 25.6 percent for Central and South Americans and 51.2 percent for "Other" Hispanics. In general, Hispanic home ownership is increasing rapidly and Hispanics are home owners as often as other immigrants.

Interestingly, as Hispanics move up in wealth, education and influence, they tend to vote Republican even more than do African Americans. According to Kosmin and Keysar (*Ethnic and Racial Studies*, August 1995), the overwhelming majority of Hispanics earning over $75,000 a year, and most of those earning between $40,000 and $75,000 are Republicans. Yet, of all income levels, six of 10 Hispanic voters in Florida (mostly Cuban and Central Americans who were more likely to have been middle class in their country of origin) are Republicans while two of three Hispanics in California (mainly Chicanos) vote Democratic. Many vote Republican for the President and Democratic on local elections. Hispanic Americans are certainly not a monolithic voting block.

Labor Force Participation and Occupation

The Hispanic labor force participation rate (the percentage of the population age 16 and over who were working or looking for work) in 1993 was higher than the rate for the United States as a whole. The rate for Hispanics was 67.5 percent while the rate for the total United States was 65.5. The labor force participation rate for Hispanic women was 51.9 percent in 1993, lower than the 57.2 percent for all women in the United States and even lower than the rate for non-Hispanic white women (57.8 percent).

While all Hispanic subgroups have labor force participation rates that are close to the rate for the United States (65 percent), Hispanic workers, compared to non-Hispanic workers, are consistently under-represented in managerial and professional occupations and over-represented in "service" occupations (jobs which are heavily minimum wage with few educational prerequisites and few benefits). In 1993, less than 12 percent of all Hispanic male workers were employed in managerial and professional occupations compared to 28 percent of all employed non-Hispanic males. Similarly, Hispanic females were also under-represented in managerial and professional occupations. In 1993, 30 percent of all employed non-Hispanic women had jobs in managerial and professional occupations compared to 15 percent of all employed Hispanic female workers.

The percentage of Hispanic workers with jobs in the service occupations were much higher than their percentage in managerial and professional occupations. In 1993, the percentage of Hispanic males who were employed in service occupations was 16 percent compared to the comparable figure for non-Hispanic males of 10 percent. Twenty-five percent of all employed Hispanic females were in service occupations compared to 17 percent of all non-Hispanic females.

Hispanic workers have a surprisingly strong presence in occupations that pay well when unionized: precision production, craft, repair, laborers and operators. With 37.9 percent of all U.S. males in occupations that paid well when unionized, 50.4 percent of Mexicans, 42.4 percent of Puerto Ricans, 44.4 percent of Cubans, 44.7 percent of Central and South Americans and 43 percent of "Other" Hispanic males were in these occupations in 1993. It is likely that union participation may be weaker in states with large Hispanic populations (California, Texas, Florida) than in heavily unionized states like Michigan and Ohio which may explain these high numbers.

Hispanic females also have a stronger presence than non-Hispanic females in blue-collar occupations such as precision production, craft, operators, etc.. In 1993, 9 percent of all non-Hispanic employed women were employed in these occupations compared to 18 percent of all employed Mexican American females, 13 percent of all employed Puerto Rican females, 13 percent of all employed Cuban females, 21 percent of all employed Central and South American females and 14 percent of all employed Other Hispanic females. (See Appendix Tables B and C.)

SELECTED HISPANIC ISSUES

Immigration and Immigrants

High rates of immigration are a vital component of the rapid expansion of the Hispanic (and Asian) population in the United States. In 1991, of the 1,827,167 immigrants admitted to the United States, 1,277,400 were Hispanic and 358,500 were Asian. Also in 1991, half of all U.S. immigrants, came from Mexico (946,167), according to data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Caribbeans totaled 140,100, Central Americans 111,100 and South Americans 79,900. Not included are the approximately 250,000 persons who enter the United States illegally each year. These numbers also do not include the 200,000 foreign-born persons who die each year in the United States nor the 200,000 former immigrants who leave the country each year. The total number of illegal immigrants in the United States is estimated at 3.2 million.

The number of illegal immigrants entering each year is heavily inflated in the media, due in part to the INS reports of one million apprehensions occurring each year at the U.S.-Mexican border. This may involve double and triple counting of the same person, counting many persons whose stay in the United States would have been a few days, and ignoring a large counter-flow from the U.S. into Mexico. The inflated figures are often used to calculate the cost to taxpayers of illegal immigrants, and are a factor in the popularity of Proposition 187 in California. The bill is now being duplicated in some other states although it was banned by U.S. District Court Judge Mariaha Pfaelzer, and the higher education section was barred by Superior Court Judge Stuart Pollack. Currently, increased penalties for making, selling or using false immigration documents are the only enforceable sections of Proposition 187.

Hostility toward immigrants in general, and illegal immigrants in particular, seems to come during periods when the economy is not generating enough well-paying jobs for current American citizens. This is a condition that describes the United States in the mid-1990s. Estimates from various sources are that about half of the illegal immigrants are from Mexico; more than half are male, and about half live in California. The issues of illegal Mexican immigrants are complex and include: the proximity of the border, the fact that much of the Southwest and California used to be Mexico, the profitable Maquiladora factory system, and the irony that for decades Californians enjoyed excellent fruit and vegetable products at low cost, largely because they were picked by migrant workers (who were often illegal and worked for pitifully small wages with no public outcry as to their lack of citizenship).

Another special category involving immigration concerns refugees (those who are admitted to the United States due to persecution or the threat of persecution). The number of refugees is increasing, and the special circumstances of Cuba, Asia and the Soviet Union should increase the number of appeals for U.S. asylum in the future, although the increasing number of democratic governments in the Americas suggests that the number of Hispanic refugees may be reduced.

The Hispanic Family

Although there are exceptions, Hispanics are more likely to live in families and are less likely to live alone or with nonrelatives than are other population groups in the United States. In 1993, 80 percent of all Hispanic households were family households. There are more children in Hispanic families and more elderly relatives than there are on average in other United States families. Because of the multigenerational quality of Hispanic families and households and other reasons, the Hispanic elderly are much less likely to be institutionalized than non-Hispanic White or African American elderly.

Hispanic females tend to marry earlier, producing what appears to be a disproportionate number of teenage pregnancies. About one-fourth of Hispanic teenage females are married. Although the divorce rate for Hispanics is increasing, in 1993, 66 percent of all Hispanic children ages zero to 18 were living with both parents. In 1993, the average number of children per Hispanic household was 4.3, almost twice the average for the United States. (See Table 3, next page.)

It is very difficult to understand the economic role of the Hispanic family in a nation that is so individualistic. Many people needing economic help, would usually apply through a government office. This is not the case for many Hispanics. Latin American society offers far fewer public and private institutional systems on which its citizens can depend. Therefore, Hispanic individuals often look to the extended family for support; Hispanics rely more often on a web of personal relationships to meet their needs. Unaccustomed to dealing comfortably with government or service agencies, Hispanics are sometimes suspicious of them. The more aloof, objective approach of the institutional professionals is not always understood. (*Handsome Dividends*, 1994.)

When we read from the U.S. Census Bureau's reports that 29.3 percent of all Hispanics were poor in 1992, or that 39.9 percent of all Hispanic children under the age of 18 were poor, the context of the family must be considered. If poor people in the United States need a loan, they go to a bank (where many, especially those who are nonwhite, will most likely be turned down, according to recent studies on banking practices). If a Hispanic person needs a loan, it may be negotiated with a brother- in-law, or with several cousins. Often, this means that some Hispanic families may not realize the benefits they are entitled to as U.S. citizens in terms of assistance programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Women, Infants and Children (WIC), Food Stamps, Medicaid or Supplemental Security Income (SSI). Forty-nine percent of all Hispanics below the poverty level in 1989 received Food Stamps benefits, for example, compared to 64 percent of all poor African Americans. (*U.S. Hispanics*, 1988.)

In some cases, the government may be seen by Hispanics as the enemy with the goal of deportation, even if the Hispanic is a full citizen. The "motor voter" legislation is an example of legislation that brought out fear that some Hispanics have of government authority.

Within a large Hispanic family, there may be a diverse makeup of family members. These members may include: elderly members who do not speak English well and have not assimilated into U.S. culture, middle-aged parents

Table 3
HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS-- PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN

(NOTE: Data are for 1993 unless otherwise indicated.)

	Number	Percent of all Households
Total Households	6,626,000	100.0
Total Family Households	5,318,000	80.3
Family households with own children under age 18/ as a percent of all households	3,345,000	50.5
Married-couple, with own children under age 18	2,355,000	35.5
Percent of married-couple families with children under age 18 and both parents are employed		44.7
Single mother with own children under age 18	830,000	12.5
Single father with own children under age 18	160,000	2.4
Nonfamily Households/as a percent of all households	1,308,000	19.7
Percent of children under age 18 living with both parents, 1990		66.0
Average number of own children per family		4.3
Median family income, 1990	$25,064	
Total persons with incomes below poverty level/ as a percent of all persons, 1992	1,949,920	29.3
Percent under age 18 in poverty/as a percent of all children under age 18, 1992		39.9
Percent of all persons age 16+ in labor force, 1990		67.5
Female labor force participation rate, 1990		55.9
Families with two or more workers, 1990/ as a percent of all families	2,750,051	57.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1993;* and *1990 Census of Population, Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

who speakEnglish, are well-educated and have well-paying jobs and who remember and practice some cultural traditions, and young children who speak only English and are (or will soon be) totally assimilated into "mainstream" U.S. culture.

"Putting yourself forward," which seems to be a religious effort for many Americans, is not universally valued by Hispanics. Respect is to be shown for elders and authority figures which is represented by looking at the floor and being silent when in the presence of teachers. This behavior is often misunderstood by many non-Hispanic White teachers: eye contact means honesty and directness, while for the Hispanic child it may mean violating cultural/family norms of behavior.

"The parents never come to school and they don't teach respect in the home. Why, the children won't even look me in the eye when I talk to them."
Texas Teacher

"Respect is the most important thing is what I tell my kids. Don't make trouble, don't ask questions, and look down when the teacher talks to you."
Latino Parent

***Look Me in the Eye: A Hispanic Cultural Perspective on School Reform*, 1994.**

An important aspect of Hispanic family life is the Catholic religion, still the religion of choice among most Hispanics. The Catholic church is generally supportive of large families, and teaches respect for authority, obedience to the church's moral and ethical teaching, and a suspicion of secular institutions, particularly as they interfere with church and family life. For many Hispanics, sending their children to parochial elementary school is an important rite of passage uniting the Hispanic family and the church.

The Language Issue

In 1990, there were 31.8 million U.S. residents who reported that they spoke a language other than English at home, according to census data. (The figure was 23.1 million in 1980.) Of the total in 1990, 17.3 million people, or 54 percent of all non-English speaking persons, spoke Spanish at home. This does not mean that they were unable to speak English, only that they spoke Spanish at home. The remaining languages spoken include declining numbers of some European languages, such as German, Italian and Greek contrasted with increasing numbers of Vietnamese, Hindi, Korean, Chinese and Tagalog, a Filipino language. Generally, declines were seen in languages whose immigrant populations peaked decades ago, while increases were seen among nations whose immigration to the United States has increased in recent years.

It is in this context that Spanish, the language spoken by half of those who speak a language other than English at home, should be analyzed. It is the language spoken by one of the most rapidly increasing immigrant groups in the United States. At the turn of the century, that distinction would have been shared by speakers of German, Italian and French. Similar questions were raised, particularly regarding southern Europeans, about how long it would take them to learn English. Suggestions of deportation for

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those who had not learned English, and "English only" demonstrations have been a common part of the American landscape for a long time.

This historical sense is important in understanding the current hostility toward immigrants, particularly those who have not yet learned English and insist on speaking Spanish, and the belief that some are deliberately preventing their children from learning English. The facts are otherwise. After 10 to 15 years in the United States, 75 percent of all Hispanic immigrants are speaking English regularly, and nearly all their children will speak English. Seventy percent of immigrant children age five to nine speak English regularly; after 14 years in the U.S., 70 percent have abandoned the use of Spanish as a daily language. (*ERIC Digest,* May 1991).

The continuous arrival of new immigrants is causing the increase in Spanish speakers in the United States. This was true of earlier immigration waves of immigrants who spoke Italian, German and French. The amount of English learned and used by immigrants is related to how long they have been in the United States and how old they were when they arrived. The younger the immigrant's age on arrival, the more complete the language shift to English. The English language is no more endangered by today's use of Spanish-speaking immigrants than it was by earlier immigrants who spoke Italian, German, or other languages. As the number of Hispanic immigrants decline, the number of Spanish speakers also will decline.

Unfortunately, just as the need for bilingual instruction is increasing, public resistance is increasing and funding for bilingual education is declining. Educational research shows conclusively that bilingual instruction (teaching Hispanic children intensive English and simultaneously developing basic reading and computational skills in Spanish) is the best way to increase subject matter competence and English fluency. The academic gains by students in bilingual education reduces the factor that contributes the most to both the high rate of Hispanic dropouts and retention (*ERIC Digest*, op. cit.).

Migrant Workers - A Special Population

While there is no completely reliable data system at present which shows the number or characteristics of migrant farm workers, surveys over the last decade suggest that there are about 800,000 migrant farm workers in the United States. These workers have about 409,000 children traveling with them as they do farm work. As of 1989, the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) found that of the two million crop workers in the United States, about 840,000 of them have the following characteristics. According to Philip Martin (*ERIC Digest,* November 1994), crop workers were:

- primarily Hispanic (94 percent), and born in Mexico (80 percent);
- married with children (52 percent);
- doing farm work in the U.S. without their families (59 percent);
- mostly men (82 percent) and mostly unauthorized (67 percent).

(It should be noted that although the Hispanic migrant worker is a big part of public perception of Hispanics in the United States, the estimated number of Hispanic migrant workers is a very

small percentage of the total number of Hispanics in the United States.)

While many might assume that crop harvesting is becoming increasingly mechanical, the reverse is true. The value of four of the hand-harvested crops - oranges, grapes, apples and lettuce - exceeds the value of the U.S. wheat crop. The value of hand-picked commodities, from fruits, nuts, vegetables, melons, flowers and mushrooms, was $30 billion in 1991. If people want vine-ripened tomatoes, a human being will have to pick them. Martin estimates that the average migrant worker makes about $5,000 yearly, with no employee benefit programs. This would be a reasonable wage in Mexico although not in the United States. Few U.S. citizens would work so hard for $5,000 a year, a figure that is far below the poverty level for even the smallest size family.

The estimated 400,000 migrant children pose a complex problem. Some of these children follow their parents from farm to farm and state to state. Some children of Hispanic migrant workers are shuttled from a home in Mexico to another home in the United States each year, with the workers (some of them children) commuting to the fields each day. Some children travel with their families and do not do farm work; a smaller number of children travel with their families and do farm work, and over 100,000 children travel at least 75 miles to do farm work without their parents, according to the NAWS survey. This last group seems to be exceptionally at risk of school failure.

Partially because schools are locally controlled, American education has never faced the reality of rapid geographical mobility in the nation. More than 100 million Americans lived in a different house in 1990 than they occupied in 1985, although 80 million were still in the same state, and 30 million were in the same county, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (1993). Such rates of population movement are unheard of elsewhere, at least among industrialized nations. Although police can now trace drivers licenses across states and cities, a student basically disappears from the sending school's records, although the receiving school may be within the same county. While moving is usually difficult for everyone, it is most difficult for children of migrant workers. These children suffer the largest number of moves, live in poverty and are subjected to hostility both because of their minority and unauthorized statuses. Because migrant workers shuttle back and forth from place to place they also live in several cultures that speak at least two different languages.

Migrant students have the lowest graduation rate of any population group in the U.S. public schools. Five times as many migrant students are enrolled in the second grade as are enrolled in the 12th grade. Dropout rates are usually calculated using the enrollment of students who are in grades 9 through 12 grade. Many migrant children have left school before or shortly after the 6th grade and are therefore not included in the already high dropout rates for all Hispanic children.

School attendance is an economic hardship for some migrant families, who need the income from the child's work for survival. This idea is inconceivable to most Americans. Because the parents of migrant children are usually not well-educated, they often feel that the education of their children should be left to the schools. Therefore, any parental interest in the schools would be seen as interference.

However, studies of high achieving migrant students show that their parents, although they do not help with homework, have positive ideas about the school, and spend time talking with their children about positive educational experiences. As is usually true, parents of low-achieving students regardless of race or ethnicity, spend little or no time talking about positive educational experiences with their children.

Life is not likely to get easier for migrant students. The life expectancy of migrant farm workers was 49 years in 1990, compared to an average of 75 years for the U.S. population. Farming is the one of the most dangerous occupations in the nation, according to a study from the General Accounting Office (GAO). For migrant workers, the usual farming dangers are increased by regular contact with pesticides in the fields - breathing the air, drinking the water, eating the food, touching the residues on the plants - as well as unsanitary conditions involving drinking and washing water and lack of toilets in the fields. Migrant children regularly report working in fields wet with pesticides, and many have been sprayed while in the fields. These conditions are in addition to poverty-related health problems such as poor nutrition and diet, intestinal parasites, respiratory diseases, serious food shortages during the year (although their work provides food for others), complications during childbirth, and severe dental problems.

Even with the U.S. Supreme Court's decision that states cannot use residency requirements to deny undocumented children the right to a tuition-free public school education (*Plyler v. Doe*, 1982), public sentiment in 1995 is hostile to immigrants of any sort. Undocumented migrant workers and their children, while they clearly lower fruit and vegetable costs for American consumers, perform work that virtually no one else will do at such low wages, and are unlikely to be given much sympathy. As 1995 comes to an end, Proposition 187, while unenforceable, seems to carry political credibility. One problem is that any major effort to improve the lives of children of migrant workers would almost inevitably increase the cost of fruit and vegetables.

Hispanics and the Education System

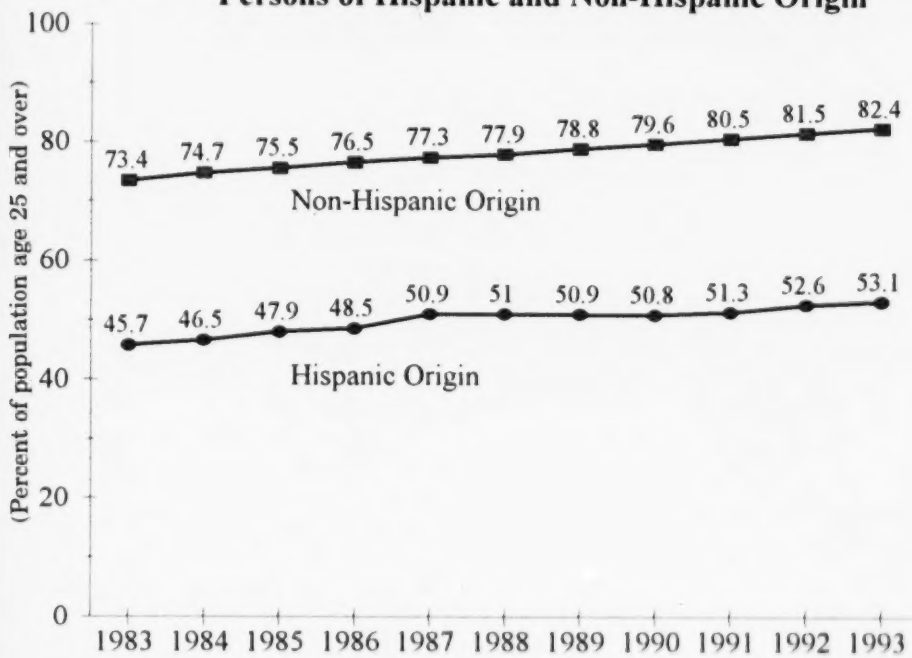
As we consider the data on school achievement for Hispanics, a paradoxical conclusion leaps out. Although great strides have been made in Hispanic educational attainment, the gap is not narrowing significantly between Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups. Hispanic adults possessing a high school diploma increased from 45.7 percent in 1983 to 53.1 percent in 1993. For non-Hispanics, the increase was from 73.4 percent of the population age 25 and over in 1983 to 82.4 percent in 1993 (see Figure 3, next page).

The percentage of Hispanics students in the United States is increasing. As of 1990, there were more than five million Hispanic students enrolled in preprimary through high school nationally. Another 1.5 million Hispanic students were enrolled in college (see Table 4, on page 20). Nine percent of Hispanic Americans age 25 and over had completed a Bachelor's degree or higher in 1993 compared to almost 23 percent of the non-Hispanic population.

Public school enrollment is expected to rise to almost 44 million by 2000, and nearly all the increase will be in minority - especially Hispanic - enrollment. Even with the progress

Figure 3

Educational Attainment: High School Completion or More Persons of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Origin



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

noted in the educational achievement of Hispanic students, several factors remain disturbing. According to data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census:

- Forty percent of White and African American children age 3 and 4 years were enrolled in nursery school and kindergarten compared to 27 percent of Hispanic children.
- Hispanic children have been retained at least one grade more often than non-Hispanic children. Being held back a year greatly increases the possibility that a child will drop out of school. Hispanics have the highest high school dropout rate (33 percent of young adults aged 18 to 24 in 1993) of any racial or ethnic group. Sixteen percent of African Americans in this age group were high school dropouts in 1993 compared to 12 percent of Whites.
- The rate of bilingual education services has been declining even

as demand for the services has increased and research has shown bilingual programs to be successful in helping students achieve. A high percentage (31.8) of Limited English Proficient

(LEP) 8th grade Hispanic children have repeated at least one grade. In 1990, 43 percent of all LEP students were immigrants.

- Hispanic students are unlikely to have Hispanic teachers who can serve as mentors. Hispanics represent only 2.9 percent of public school teachers and 2.8 percent of private school teachers.

- Successes in educational attainment are not uniform among Hispanic subgroups. Among the 25 to 34 year-olds, only 53 percent of Mexican Americans had completed high school in 1993, compared to 68 percent of Central and South Americans, 74 percent of Puerto Ricans, 84 percent of Cubans and 81 percent of "Other" Hispanics. For non-Hispanics in this age group, it was 90 percent.

Increases in Hispanic enrollment in higher education are limited to increases in the K-12 "pipeline." We have already seen that increases in Hispanic enrollment in higher education have not gained much ground compared to gains by non-Hispanics.

By 1990, Hispanic students were 5.5 percent of the total college enrollment in the United States, which sounds fine except that Hispanics were 12 percent of the 18 to 24 year-old cohort. This means that the percentage of Hispanic high school graduates going on to college dropped from 30.1 percent in 1975 to 28.2 percent in 1991, according to the *ERIC Digest* (March 1993). Non-Hispanic White high school graduates increased their college attendance from 31 percent in 1975 to 41 percent in 1991. Hispanics have not participated in higher education to the extent that their proportional representation in the general population would suggest.

Overall, the percentage of Hispanic adults (age 25 and over) with a bachelor's degree was significantly lower than the figure for non-Hispanics. In 1992, 9 percent of all Hispanics age 25 and over had a bachelor's degree compared to 22.9 percent of all non-Hispanics in this age group. Also, the differences among the largest Hispanic subgroups are evident, although none of the subgroups had a rate that was as high as the rate for non-Hispanics. Six percent of all Mexican Americans had a bachelor's degree in 1993 compared to 8 percent of all Puerto Rican Americans, 16 percent of all Cuban American, 15 percent of all Central and South Americans and 15 percent of all Other Hispanics.

In 1990, Hispanic students were enrolled in two-year higher education programs about twice as often as in four-year degree programs. This means that the increases in the number of Hispanic students in graduate and professional degree programs were proportionately limited. If elementary school faculty encouraged Hispanics to high levels of educational achievement at an early age, that cohort would move through the pipeline, eventually producing an increase in the number of Hispanic graduate and professional school enrollments. If the seed is not planted early, it is less likely that Hispanic students will continue to college.

Table 4
EDUCATION CHARACTERISTICS--
PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN

ENROLLMENT	**Number**	**Percent/Rate**
Persons age 3 and over enrolled in preprimary through high school, 1990	5,653,702	100.0
In Public School/as a percent of total enrolled	5,173,078	91.5
Number of persons enrolled in college, 1990/percent of total enrollment	1,493,364	5.5
Persons age 5-17 in linguistically isolated households, 1990/as a percent of all persons 5 years and over in households	1,150,203	6.0
Number/Percent of population age 16-19 who are not in school, not employed, not high school graduate and not in armed forces, 1990	178,507	12.3
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		
Total population age 25 and over, 1990	11,226,793	100.0
High School graduate only/as a percent of population age 25+	2,419,632	21.6
Bachelors' degree or higher/as a percent of population age 25+	1,027,759	9.2
EARNINGS BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		
Median Earnings for all full-time, year-round persons age 18 and over, 1993	$22,307	
High School Graduate Only, 1993	$19,091	
Bachelor's Degree Only, 1993	$29,828	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, *Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1993 and 1992* and *1990 Census of Population: Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States*, and *Social and Economic Characteristics*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

The problem with the Hispanic educational pipeline is the need to work on what comes into it - the youngest children. If more Hispanic children come to school with confidence in their ability and encounter teachers who expect great things from them, the entire educational pipeline will eventually enlarge for Hispanic students, all the way to graduate and professional schools. The process of broadening the pipeline to increase Hispanic high school graduation rates takes 12 years or more (counting

preschool). However, few politicians will wait that long.

Broadening the Hispanic pipeline also means that Hispanic parents must become more involved with their children's education and get involved with activities such as: attending conferences with teachers, joining the PTA and running for the school board. This will be difficult for parents whose own educational level may be low and for parents who think of teachers as authorities and experts in their children's education, and that they (the parents) will only be "in the way." This may also be difficult for teachers who do not understand the culture of the Hispanic students in their classroom. The idea of school achievement cannot be developed by teachers in total absence of the child's family. Both parties must contribute.

One optimistic development among Hispanic Americans is the rapidly increasing number of successful Hispanic suburbanites. From this development will come more success models for Hispanic children in their communities, more evidence that working hard in school will pay off for you AND your family.

One problem, however, is that the Hispanic middle class, like the African American middle class, is dividing the community into haves and have nots. While more nonwhite middle-class suburbanites are thriving, validating the "American Dream," many Hispanic children living in the inner city (and some suburban areas as well) are living in poverty, joining gangs and, as Professor Gary Orfield (Harvard University) has said, are going to schools that are more segregated than those that African American inner city children attend. The desegregation principles of *Brown v. Board of Education* have seldom been applied to Hispanic children, and it seems even less likely in the next decade that equality of educational opportunity will again become a rousing cry for action in the United States on behalf of any group.

There is an irony to the fact that Hispanics are now owning their own homes in rapidly increasing numbers. Over 50 percent of Hispanics in New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, Colorado and Florida own their homes while 21.4 percent of Hispanic loan applications were turned down in 1990. These contradictory trends may cause the Hispanic community to be set apart, based on differences in educational and economic status. It is an era of "the agony of rising expectations." Only improved education for all Hispanics, from kindergarten through graduate school, can begin to break this cultural logjam. As with African Americans, Native Americans and Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans must be able to reach the "American Dream" while maintaining at least a part of their "Hispanidad."

SUMMARY AND NEXT STEPS

The census giveth; the census taketh away. Just as the Census Bureau, through the Office of Management and Budget, created the "Hispanic" category, the census of 2000 could eliminate it. Proposals under consideration now will likely change how federal data collectors categorize the U.S. population. One such proposal is to create a new category that would allow people to say that they were "of mixed race." This could become the category of choice for

80 percent of all Americans, according to some authorities. (See Hodgkinson, October 1995.) Another proposal under consideration is to change the concept of "Hispanic" from an ethnic group to a racial group.

While this "labeling" may seem a trivial classification issue to some, it is a matter of enormous political and economic importance to others. As a result, the Hispanic population could plummet from 22.7 million to three million if there is a "mixed race" box added to the census form. The lives of millions of people could be changed, as state and federal funds are reduced, congressional districts are realigned, antipoverty programs are adjusted to the new categories, etc. It also may mean that the opportunity to help many who are in need may not be taken because we are no longer able to identify groups. It may be time to argue that poor children, no matter what their racial or ethnic background, are at risk of failure in school and life through no fault of their own and therefore should be offered assistance because of their poverty status and not because of their race or ethnicity.

More than 85 percent of the Hispanic population in the United States lives in 10 states, but if one analyzes the population data at the county level, a different perspective emerges. Hispanic Americans are spread across more counties than are African Americans. Almost twice as many counties have between one-half of one percent to nine percent of the population being Hispanic as have a comparable percentage of African American residents. Although these counties do not contain a majority of Hispanic residents, the small percentages of Hispanics are already more important in many county and small town elections in the Nation than are African Americans. While African American and Hispanic populations are projected to be about equal in 2010 with about 40 million each, by 2015, Hispanics will outnumber African Americans. Hispanic political power (and the responsibility that goes with it) has already become the dominant nonwhite power in many U.S. counties.

The differences between Hispanic subgroups in terms of wealth, education, age and numbers of children in poverty, are very large indeed. This is especially true of the differences between Puerto Rican Americans, Mexican Americans and Cuban Americans. The question remains: how do we reduce the differences between Hispanic subgroups by improving opportunities for all Hispanic subgroups?

Constant and high levels of Hispanic immigration to the United States are assumed by the Census Bureau's population projections. This is in part because of the higher income/ purchasing power levels in the United States. But, there is an increase of households in South and Central American countries with purchasing power of over $20,000 U.S. dollars per year. This could slow Hispanic immigration to the United States if these economies improve.

According to *American Demographics* (September 1995), the increase of households with high levels of purchasing power in U.S. dollars included at least 17 million households in 1993; this number increases every day. At least 40 percent of the households in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela may now be considered middle- to upper-class in terms of purchasing power. The 133,800 wealthiest households in Sao

Paulo, Brazil, average $143,000 in purchasing power, while the upper class of Mexico City has $261,000 to spend per household, establishing at least a large market for luxury and "top-of-the-line" goods and services. The middle-income markets are growing rapidly, attracting companies like WalMart.

This economic development may either reduce the amount of Hispanic immigration, increase the number of Hispanic immigrants who return to their home country, or both. If history is any judge, U.S. hostility toward immigrants will continue until the current shortage of well-paying jobs in the United States is over.

It is likely that the United States will continue to have a sizeable group of illegal immigrants for a number of reasons. Included are: the permeability of U.S. border, the number of children born in the United States to illegal immigrants -- the children are U.S. citizens although the mother may be in the United States illegally, and deportation will never be applied on a large scale (you have to know where illegal immigrants are to deport them). In addition, given that we all benefit from having many illegal immigrants picking our fruit and vegetables at low wages, it would probably be wise to compare the cost of educating the children of undocumented parents with the cost of NOT educating them; not educating the children of undocumented workers will be much higher in the end. (See Hodgkinson and Obarakpor, *Asian Immigration to America*.)

Migrant workers and their children, although a very small proportion of all Hispanics, remain an almost impossible problem. Part of the difficulty comes from our previous point of the costs and benefits of low-wage workers. Most people in the United States benefit from the work of undocumented migrant workers. These benefits include picking the food, assembling clothing in "sweatshops" in New York and electronic subassemblies in Southern California as well as the Maquiladora. Migrants, especially those that are undocumented, cannot by definition form a political pressure group. Even strikes among migrant workers are unlikely. The cycle of ignorance, lack of self-respect, menial job skills, poor medical care, poverty, and early and unplanned pregnancy repeats itself with painful regularity. Any broad attack on this problem would create massive hostility and resistance within large segments of the U.S. citizenry. No politician could run for election on such a program and win. However, small victories might include: easy access to education and health care records on children of migrant workers from sending school district to receiving district, school scholarships (donated by the growers) for the children of migrant workers, early health examinations and vaccinations for the children (arranged through local Chambers of Commerce and/or grower's associations), and more television programs encouraging the children of migrant workers to do well in school.

Interestingly, the Hispanic family seems to look increasingly like the "typical" American family, with more divorce, more single parents households, more unmarried pregnancies, more kids involved in gangs, etc. These developments make the Hispanic family more vulnerable, less able to protect and provide for its members and more in need of government programs. Yet, Hispanics generally do not have faith in U.S. government bureaucracies. Indeed today, there is an increase in Hispanic solidarity with more people speaking Spanish and celebrating the old

traditions. The question remains: how does the "declaration of independence" square with the increasingly dependent Hispanic family?

There is a large irony in bilingual programs these days. The existing research is clear that these programs work well and the demand is increasing rapidly, yet human and fiscal resources for these programs are drying up. This is an area where state government leadership need to be encouraged.

The Hispanic educational "pipeline" is unusual in that it is partially closed at the bottom, where the youngest children enter. Partly because of immigration and partly because of low family income and lack of parent education, it is crucial that Hispanic youngsters come to school in good health, stay in school, have supportive home environments, and are ready to learn. We cannot increase the number of Hispanic students in graduate and professional schools unless many more "success stories" enter the pipeline in preschool and kindergarten. Full funding of Head Start eligible children would broaden the Hispanic pipeline more than any other single act, yet seems unlikely.

The United States is increasingly divided into two sectors: a wealthy, technologically sophisticated suburban group and the "working poor." The working poor are usually several workers earning part-time minimum wage with no employee benefits, such as health care and little advancededucation. Karl Marx, if alive today, would probably not title his book "Das Kapital" but would call it "Die Wissenschaft" - access to knowledge that is increasingly the dividing line between social classes in the United States.

We can all take pleasure in the achievements of a young Hispanic cadre that has done well in school and work, has maintained a wonderful tradition of a healthy, extended family, speaks both English and Spanish, and is raising children who will carry on the family tradition and even extend it. But we also should be concerned by the fact that this group of successful Hispanic Americans is not increasing as rapidly as Hispanics in the general population. Despite a lengthy and increasing presence in the United States, because of language problems, cultural differences, educational disadvantages, and opportunities that are nonexistent for many Hispanics, the reality is complex, with many successes and many failures. Much remains to be done before Hispanic Americans can truly be in position to fulfill their potential.

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APPENDIX A:

Table A: Hispanic Diversity, Population by Hispanic Origin Subgroup, 1990

Table B: Demographic Profile -- Persons of Mexican Origin and the United States Compared

Table C: Demographic Profile -- Persons of Puerto Rican and Cuban Origin

Table D: Demographic Profile -- Persons of Central and South American Origin and "Other" Hispanic Origin

Table A
HISPANIC DIVERSITY, 1990

	Population	Percent of total
Total Hispanic	**21,900,089**	**100.0**
Mexican	**13,393,208**	**61.2**
Puerto Rican	**2,651,815**	**12.1**
Cuban	**1,053,197**	**4.8**
Other Hispanic*	**4,801,869**	**21.9**
Dominican (Dominican Republic)	520,151	2.4
Central American	1,323,830	6.0
Costa Rican	57,223	0.3
Guatemalan	268,779	1.2
Honduran	131,066	0.6
Nicaraguan	202,658	0.9
Panamanian	92,013	0.4
Salvadoran	565,081	2.6
South American	1,035,602	4.7
Argentinean	100,921	0.5
Bolivian	38,073	0.2
Chilean	68,799	0.3
Columbian	378,726	1.7
Ecuadorian	191,198	0.9
Paraguayan	6,662	0.03
Peruvian	175,035	0.8
Uruguayan	21,996	0.1
Venezuelan	47,997	0.2
Spaniard	519,136	2.4
Spanish	444,896	2.0
Spanish American	93,320	0.4

*Includes other groups not shown separately.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population, Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Table B

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE: PERSONS OF MEXICAN ORIGIN AND THE TOTAL U.S. POPULATION COMPARED

(NOTE: Data are for 1993 unless otherwise indicated.)

	MEXICAN		TOTAL UNITED STATES	
	Number	**Percent/ Rate**	**Number**	**Percent/ Rate**
POPULATION				
Total Population	14,628,00	100.0	254,241,00	100.0
As a percent of total Hispanic population		64.3		
Percent under age 5		12.2		7.8
Percent age 65 and over		4.2		12.1
Median Age		24.6		33.6
Percent of population age 5 and over that do not speak English "very well," 1990		38.9		6.1
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT				
Total population age 25+	7,198,000	100.0	162,826	100.0
Percent High School Graduate or more		46.2		80.2
Percent Bachelor's degree or more		5.9		21.9
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN Under Age 18 BY TYPE, 1990				
Married Couples with children/as a percent of all families		51.4		37.2
Mother-only with children/as a percent of all families		12.2		9.0
Percent of population <age 18 living with both parents		69.8		73.0
LABOR FORCE STATUS/OCCUPATION				
Total population age 16+	9,616,000	100.0	192,955,00	100.0
Percent in labor force		66.6		65.5
Percent unemployed		11.7		7.4
Total Employed Males age 16+	3,486,000	100.0	92,301	100.0

	MEXICAN		TOTAL UNITED STATES	
	Number	**Percent/ Rate**	**Number**	**Percent/ Rate**
Percent Managerial & Professional Specialty		8.7		26.5
Percent Service Occupations		15.2		10.6
Percent Precision Production, Craft, Repair, Laborers and Operators		50.4		37.9
Total Employed Females age 16+	2,168,000	100.0	53,997,000	100.0
Percent Managerial & Professional Specialty		13.6		28.8
Percent Service Occupations		24.9		18.0
Percent Precision Production, Craft, Repair, Laborers and Operators		18.0		9.6
INCOME/HOME OWNERSHIP				
Average Earnings, Males, 1992 (year-round, full-time workers)	$22,355		$35,711	
Average Earnings, Females, 1992 (year-round, full-time workers)	$18,880		$24,009	
Median family income, 1992	$23,714		$36,811	
Percent of household heads that own their own home		44.2		64.5
POVERTY				
Percent of total population w/incomes below poverty		30.1		14.5
Population under age 18 in poverty/as a percent of all persons below poverty		49.1		39.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1993* and *1990 Census of Population: Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States,* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Table C

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE: PERSONS OF PUERTO RICAN AND CUBAN ORIGIN

(NOTE: Data are for 1993 unless otherwise indicated.)

	PUERTO RICAN		CUBAN	
	Number	**Percent/ Rate**	**Number**	**Percent/ Rate**
POPULATION				
Total Population	2,402,000	100.0	1,071,000	100.0
As a percent of total Hispanic population		10.6		4.7
Percent under age 5		10.4		4.5
Percent age 65 and over		5.8		20.4
Median Age		26.9		43.6
Percent of population age 5 and over that do not speak English "very well," 1990		33.5		48.5
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT				
Total population age 25 and over	1,280,000	100.0	818,000	100.0
Percent High School Graduate or more		59.8		62.1
Percent Bachelor's degree or more		8.0		16.5
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN UNDER AGE 18 BY TYPE, 1990				
Married Couples with children/as a percent of all families		34.7		33.1
Mother-only with children/as a percent of all families		26.7		6.8
Percent of population under age 18 living with both parents		46.8		71.5
LABOR FORCE STATUS/OCCUPATION				
Total population age 16 and over	1,587,000	100.0	927,000	100.0
Percent in labor force		56.1		57.5
Percent unemployed		14.4		7.3
Total Employed Males age 16+	400,000	100.0	278,000	100.0
Percent Managerial & Professional Specialty		15.5		20.3
Percent Service Occupation		22.4		12.5

	PUERTO RICAN		CUBAN	
	Number	**Percent/ Rate**	**Number**	**Percent/ Rate**
Percent Precision Production, Craft, Repair, Laborers and Operators		42.4		44.4
Total Employed Females age 16+	363,000	100.0	216,000	100.0
Percent Managerial & Professional Specialty		18.5		18.4
Percent Service Occupation		19.9		20.1
Percent Precision Production, Craft, Repair, Laborers and Operators		13.2		12.6
INCOME/HOME OWNERSHIP				
Average Earnings, Males, 1992 (year-round, full-time workers)	$27,293		$32,151	
Average Earnings, Females, 1992 (year-round, full-time workers)	$21,891		$21,565	
Median family income, 1992	$20,301		$31,015	
Percent of household heads that own their own home		23.4		53.0
POVERTY				
Percent of total population w/incomes below poverty		36.5		18.1
Population under age 18 in poverty/as a percent of all persons below poverty		52.9		19.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1993* and *1990 Census of Population: Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Table D

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE: PERSONS OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN ORIGIN AND "OTHER" HISPANIC ORIGIN COMPARED

(NOTE: Data are for 1993 unless otherwise indicated.)

	CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN		"OTHER" HISPANIC	
	Number	**Percent/ Rate**	**Number**	**Percent/ Rate**
POPULATION				
Total Population	3,052,000	100.0	1,598,000	100.0
As a percent of total Hispanic population		13.4		7.0
Percent under age 5		9.9		8.3
Percent age 65 and over		3.9		8.5
Median Age		28.6		32.5
Percent of population age 5 and over that do not speak English "very well," 1990		55.1		30.2
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT				
Total population age 25 and over	1,776,000	100.0	1,029,000	100.0
Percent High School Graduate or more		62.9		68.9
Percent Bachelor's degree or more		15.2		15.1
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN UNDER AGE 18 BY TYPE, 1990				
Married Couples with children/as a percent of all families		47.2		37.9
Mother-only with children/as a percent of all families		12.4		16.6
Percent of population under age 18 living with both parents		68.2		64.7
LABOR FORCE STATUS/OCCUPATION				
Total population age 16 and over	2,248,000	100.0	1,208,000	100.0
Percent in labor force		70.5		65.7
Percent unemployed		13.2		10.8
Total Employed Males age 16+	822,000	100.0	388,000	100.0

	CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN		"OTHER" HISPANIC	
	Number	**Percent/ Rate**	**Number**	**Percent/ Rate**
Percent Managerial & Professional Specialty		15.3		19.5
Percent Service Occupations		17.8		15.4
Percent Precision Production, Craft, Repair, Laborers and Operators		44.7		43.0
Total Employed Females age 16+	552,000	100.0	319,000	100.0
Percent Managerial & Professional Specialty		15.7		22.2
Percent Service Occupations		31.6		19.1
Percent Precision Production, Craft, Repair, Laborers and Operators		21.0		14.1
INCOME/HOME OWNERSHIP				
Average Earnings, Males, 1992 (year-round, full-time workers)		$24,892		$30,331
Average Earnings, Females, 1992 (year-round, full-time workers)		$18,734		$21,446
Median family income, 1992		$23,649		$28,562
Percent of household heads that own their own home		25.6		51.2
POVERTY				
Percent of total population w/incomes below poverty		26.7		23.1
Population under age 18 in poverty/as a percent of all persons below poverty		38.5		38.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1993* and *1990 Census of Population: Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States,* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

APPENDIX B:

FIGURE 1: POPULATION BY SELECTED AGE GROUPS BY TYPE OF HISPANIC ORIGIN

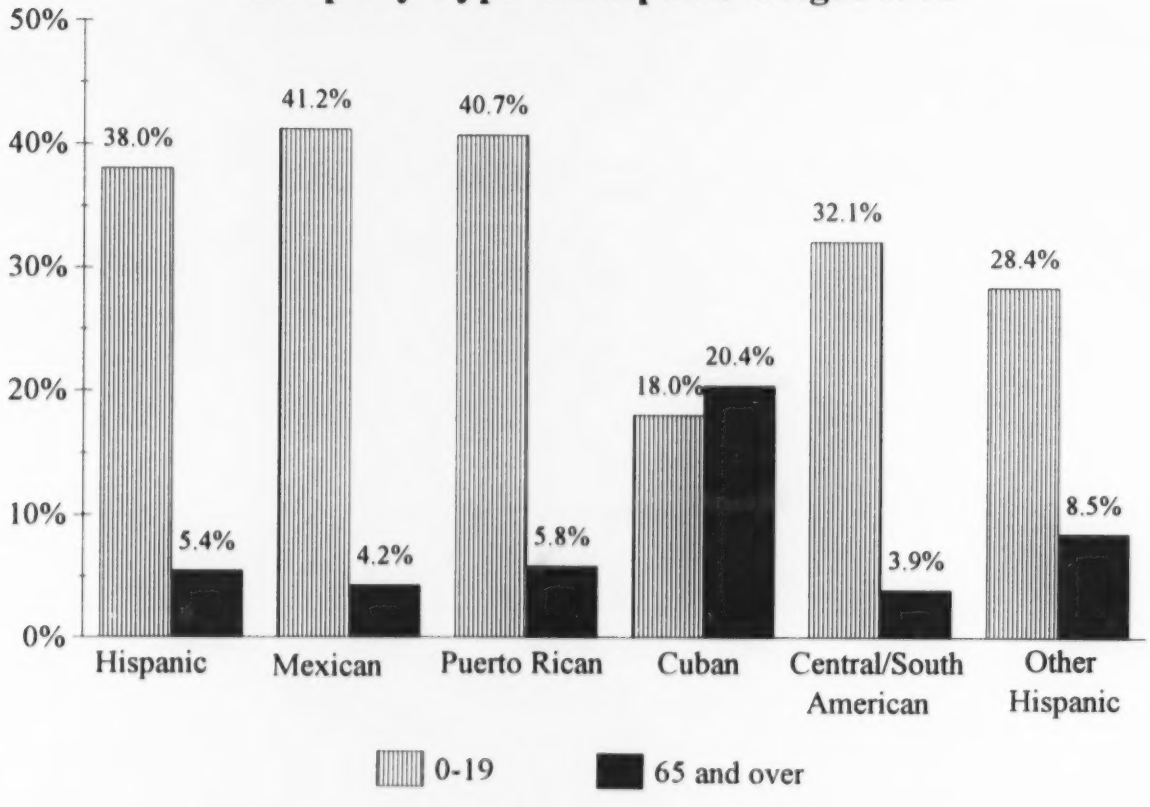
FIGURE 2: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY TYPE OF HISPANIC ORIGIN

FIGURE 3: AVERAGE EARNINGS BY TYPE OF HISPANIC ORIGIN

FIGURE 4: MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME, HISPANIC ORIGIN AND NON-HISPANIC ORIGIN COMPARED

Figure 1

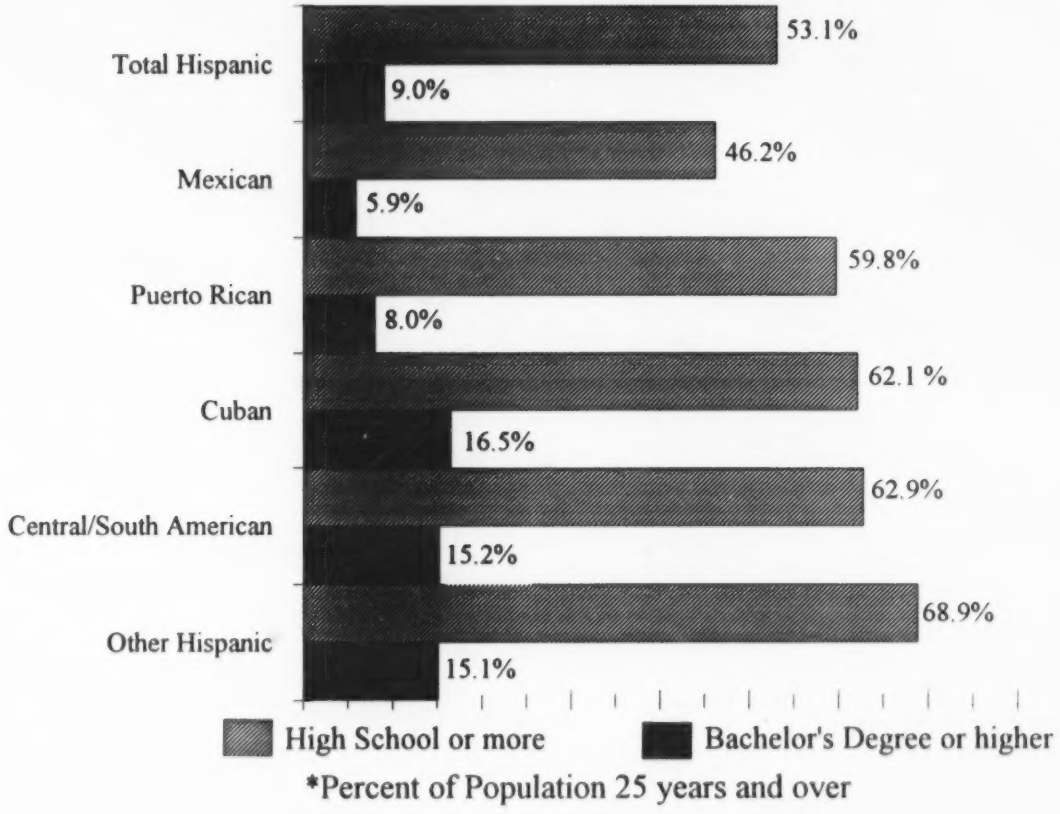
Hispanic Population by Selected Age Groups by Type of Hispanic Origin 1993



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 2

Educational Attainment,* by Type of Origin

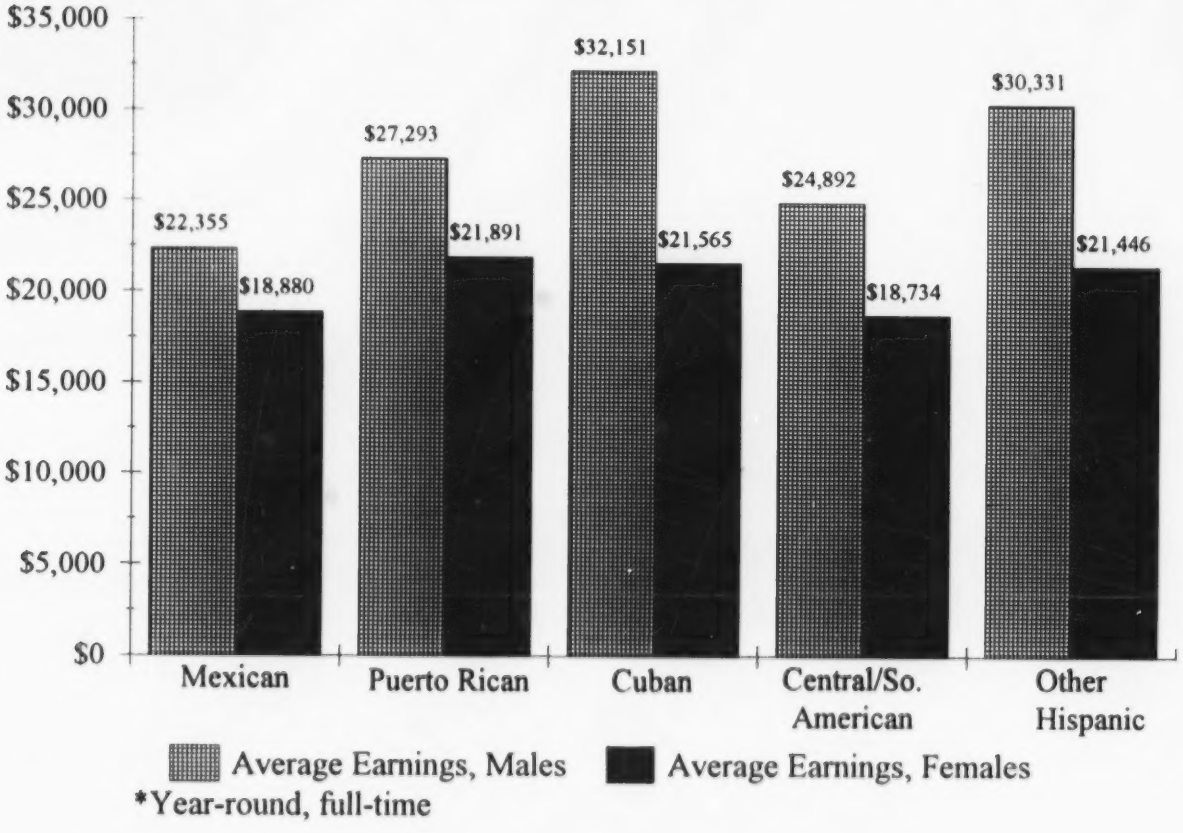


*Percent of Population 25 years and over

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 3

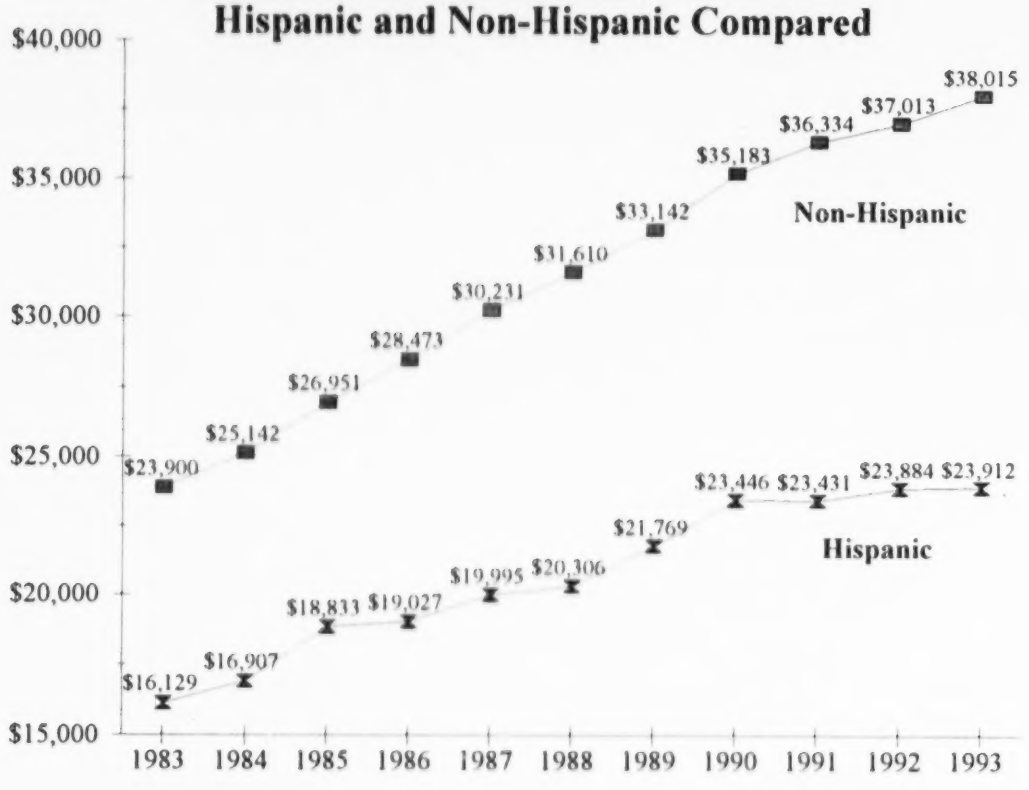
Average Earnings*, 1993
by Type of Origin



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 4

Median Family Income, 1982 to 1992
Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Compared



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

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Damaged by the drugs their mothers took during pregnancy, hundreds of thousands of children are making up a generation of American children and it is costing millions of dollars to help them. The authors of a new report on children born affected by drugs, particularly crack cocaine, tell us "what is known and not known" about this growing population. *1993 · 20pp · $10.00*

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This report examines a few of the commonly held stereotypes and myths about children in the United States. A comprehensive look at what the facts are surrounding children issues in the United States is presented. According to Outtz, "we talk a lot about children growing up in the United States in the nineties and how different things are today than they were 20 years or even 10 years ago. What we actually know about children--how they live, where they live and the conditions under which they live--is very different for each one of us." *1994 · 52 pp. · $12.00*

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